1508|1432

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

SITUATION

TO WHICH

IRELAND IS REDUCED

BY THE

GOVERNMENT

OF

LORD CAMDEN.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

My Lord,

If it ſhall pleaſe your Excellency to permit them to go to WAR with us, and will permit us only to go to LAW with them, the iſſue of the conteſt may be readily foreſeen.

Miſcellaneous Obſervations by the Earl of Carhampton.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED IN THE YEAR
1798.

15
68
SEP

ADVERTISEMENT.

FROM a Pamphlet, the Sheets of which were ſent to the Preſs as faſt as they were written, much accuracy of compoſition cannot be expected. At a future day a much more enlarged view of the Conduct, and Conſequences of the Conduct, of the late Iriſh Government, will be laid before the Public.

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Conſiderations, &c.

FOR three months a rebellion has openly exiſted in this country. This rebellion, though its principles had been inculcated, and its plan had been formed ſome time previous to the arrival of Lord Camden, received a conſiderable addition both of force and order during his lordſhip's adminiſtration. The danger to the kingdom was increaſed by an invaſion, threatened and prepared by a formidable foreign enemy.

From the time of the reports of the Secret Committees of both Houſes of Parliament, Government were in poſſeſſion of proof of the nature of the rebel principles, and of the means accumulated to carry them into effect. Government declared its determination of puniſhing the rebellion of its ſubjects, and of repelling the invaſion of its enemy, *by arms*. No time was loſt in application to Parliament for the neceſſary ſupply; and Parliament, notwithſtanding the vehemence with which, by a particular party in both kingdoms, all meaſures of *coercion* were reprobated, and thoſe of *conciliation* recommended, granted every ſupply, and enacted every law, which the military information, and the political

political wiſdom of our rulers, demanded or ſuggeſted. Wielding without controul the natural and political force of the kingdom, adminiſtration declared itſelf PREPARED for the utmoſt exigency of events.

The rebellion broke out, and has marked its progreſs like Attila, who boaſted that the graſs never grew where his horſe had trod. As a meaſure of *coercion*, the military force has, without controul, been applied by the military ſkill of the ſtate.

The rebellion IS NOT SUPPRESSED.

A ſtate paper has appeared, which, notwithſtanding ſome awkward, if not ridiculous circumſtances, under which it labours, muſt be conſidered ſoberly as a leading meaſure of *conciliation*.

It is now propoſed to enquire, whether this FIRST movement towards conciliation, could have been directed either by integrity or prudence. Previous to which, however, it will be neceſſary to advert to ſome peculiar characters by which the growth of this rebellion has been marked, and to ſome of the meaſures of *coercion* which have been applied to deſtroy it.

When it is ſaid, that a rebellion exiſts in this country, the word rebellion muſt be underſtood in a particular ſenſe. It can never be intended that all rebellions are equal in the moral ſcale. It can never be intended to inſult the memory of the unhappy Scots rebel of 1745, by any compariſon with the Iriſh rebel of the preſent day. The rebellion in

Scotland

Scotland was a lamentable ſacrifice to miſplaced affection, and to ancient, though miſtaken loyalty; in which, though it became neceſſary to puniſh the act, it was impoſſible not to pity, if not to reſpect the principle.

But what are the marks by which the nature of the preſent rebellion may be known? It is not a rebellion of ancient affection, glowing even in its aſhes. It is not a rebellion of thoſe, whoſe knowledge having extended their views, ſhewed them conſequences fatal to future liberty, from gradual and preſent abuſes. It is not a rebellion of thoſe, whoſe extent of property might make them feel in their own perſons the particular weight of an oppreſſive government. But it is a rebellion of the *peaſant*, ſupported by ſome preſbyterian ſhopkeepers, and led and corrupted by ſome popiſh prieſts. It is a rebellion of the weaver, having re-ſet in his loom a new web of the conſtitution, on a new pattern—of the blackſmith, hammering out a new ſyſtem of government, red-hot from his bellows. But it is not a rebellion of the peaſant, detached merely from his allegiance, and his ordinary obedience to the laws. It is a rebellion of the peaſant detached from every virtue of the heart. It is not an attack upon the particular government of this particular country. It is an attack upon every tie of ſocial life that ever exiſted in any government in the world. It is a courſe of domeſtic treachery, of cruel murder, and cowardly aſſaſſination.

Now,

Now, by what ladder have we mounted to this pinnacle of depravity?

Our progreſs is to be found in our own laws, and our own conduct. We cannot obliterate the black letter of our own folly in our own ſtatute book.

Towards the commencement of the preſent reign, ſome modern doctrines (which have ſince ſpread, and where they have ſpread have ravaged Europe) were broached, which then took the indefinite name of "liberality of ſentiment." The talk and the writing at that time, on this "liberality of ſentiment," excited the hopes, though it was too ſlow to gratify the deſires, of a certain claſs of men in this country. Then was born the new idea of quickening the legiſlature, by mixing a tolerable proportion of *fear*, with this "liberality of ſentiment." *Riots* were excited through the land, and were alledged to ariſe from the oppreſſion of the legiſlative ſyſtem then eſtabliſhed.

As to puniſh, inſtead of to conciliate outrage, is the firſt, and natural thought of brave and prudent men, the 3d George III. ch. 19, was immediately enacted; but being (like many other laws) defectively executed, the evil and the clamour ſtill continued. At length the parliament, fatally for the country, was prevailed on to adopt a ſyſtem which has ſince acquired the names of *conceſſion* and *conciliation*. As a commencement of this ſyſtem, the 13 and 14 George III. ch. 35, was enacted, and enabled a particular claſs of the king's ſubjects to teſtify, by an oath, their allegiance to him.

What

What followed?

The moment they had ſworn allegiance to their king, they renounced their allegiance to their God; and in the ſame year that gave them the enabling ſtatute above-mentioned, their horrid atrocities produced the neceſſity of paſſing the firſt of the *chalking* acts.

Oaths have been fatal to the morals of this country; for every man that took the oath of allegiance by day, a wretch took his ſtand at night, armed with a knife, to maim the king's ſoldiers; and even the unoffending cattle of any ſubject, noted for his loyalty.

What followed?

Deſpiſing the leſſon of experience, made uneaſy, and terrified by unremitting cruelty and outrage, parliament was tempted to another act of *conceſſion*, in order to produce *conciliation*. The 17 and 18 George III. c. 49, was accordingly paſſed, to enable papiſts to take leaſes for 999 years, or five lives.

What followed?

Renewed clamour. The neceſſity (produced by extended and varied cruelty and outrage) of amending and extending the riot and chalking acts. (17 and 18 Geo. III. and 19 and 20 Geo. III.) Then alſo aroſe (from the blood ſpilt by the chalking knife) the modern race of patriots, with their liſt of grievances and oppreſſions, and their doctrine of unalienable rights. Napper Tandy—Henry Grattan—Wolfe Tone——

What followed?

To diſarm the hand of the aſſaſſin, and to ſtill the tongue of the patriot, parliament gave the act of 1782. Upon an expreſs ſtipulation of plenary ſatisfaction, the papiſts received a full and perfect equality of *right* to *property*.

What followed?

The attack directly to eſtabliſh a *right* of *power*. The ſubſequent union of the prieſt-goaded papiſt, with the unprincipled atheiſt, and the reſtleſs preſbyterian. The open avowal of a maxim long acted under, though never before acknowledged; the diabolical aſſertion, that it is right and moral to take advantage of public and imperial war and calamity, in order to enforce civil and local innovation. A ſhort, but pointed hiſtory, of our progreſs, and arrival at our preſent ſtate, may be read in the preamble to the 3d Geo. III. ch. 19, and to the act, commonly called the inſurrection act. By the preambles to thoſe acts, it appears that our *firſt* ſtep was irregular riot, and our *laſt* ſyſtematic rebellion. The ſpace between theſe extremities is filled up by acts of *conciliation*—*conceded*, firſt to the pitch-fork and the chalking-knife, and latterly to the firelock and the pike.

Having thus ſlightly traced ſome of the outlines of our preſent body of misfortune, by which it appears that the principal end of its formation was anarchy, and the principal means, aſſaſſination, I return to that period when our government took

formal

formal and recorded notice of the exiſtence of the rebellion within the realm: I mean the period when the ſecret committees of both houſes of Parliament made their reports. By theſe reports it appeared, that a body of 72,000 men were ſworn and united in a ſcheme to overturn the throne and conſtitution; that they had arrayed themſelves in arms, eſtabliſhed a regular ſyſtem of military diſcipline, ſubjected themſelves to a ſpecies of civil government, collected money and large ſtores of all munitions; —that they had committees of finance and war— which laſt power had led them into many and direct acts of attack upon the King's troops, and commanded them to many acts of aſſaſſination on the King's unarmed and loyal ſubjects. The contents of theſe reports amounting to public and notorious proof of an exiſting rebellion, acting by force of arms, my Lord Camden moſt firmly determined to ſubdue it; and accordingly diſpatched into the terrified and outraged provinces——his Majeſty's Attorney General, armed with his gown and wig, covered in his front by the Crown Solicitor (Mr. Kemmis,) having in his rear divers ſtores and munitions of parchment, with orders to overcome, ſubdue, conquer, and put down, the aforeſaid wicked and nefarious rebellion!

What followed?

Mr. Kemmis grew fat and rich—the Attorney General became melancholy and aſhamed—the judgeswere diſgraced and inſulted—the jurors choſe

to be perjured rather than to be murdered—the aſſaſſins were acquitted, and the witneſſes were aſſaſſinated.

It had been ſome time before mentioned to my Lord Camden, by a nobleman of good ſenſe and quick conception, that, "if his Excellency gave them liberty to go to *war* with us, and only gave us liberty to go to *law* with them, the iſſue of the conteſt could be foreſeen without the aid of any peculiarly enlightened underſtanding." My Lord Camden, at the time this obſervation was made, conceived it to be ſome joke; and, as he did not find any clauſe in his patent directing him to unravel the wit of his Majeſty's ſubjects, he ſmiled, as is uſual; but after this defeat of his Majeſty's Attorney General, the odd juxta-poſition of the words *war* and *law*, jingled on his memory, and he determined to ponder on the matter, and perhaps to aſk the noble Lord, who made the obſervation, for his aſſiſtance to explain it. In this ſtate of ponderation, his Excellency continued proceeding from the Caſtle to the Park, and from the Park to the Caſtle, going *to take the air* every day at two o'clock, as has been uſual for every Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to perform; and ſometimes relieving the dulneſs of theſe cares of ſtate, by going to Moore-abbey to ſhoot cocks, until authentic information was received, that on the 23d of April the Caſtle of Dublin was to be ſurpriſed, the perſon of the Lord Lieutenant ſeized, and that this ſurpriſe and ſeizure was to be aided by a previous

ſetting

ſetting fire to different parts of the capital, and a maſſacre of the principal inhabitants.

What followed?

His Excellency became firm and reſolved. With the moſt conſummate prudence he determined to poſtpone an inveſtigation into the meaning of his noble friend's joke until an opportunity of more leiſure. With infinite reſolution and ſpirit he barricadoed the Caſtle-yard, planted artillery (ſlow match lighted) at the gates, and committed the care of the reſt of the capital to God and the Yeomanry.

God and the Yeomanry ſaved the capital, and left his Excellency *time to conſider what was to be done.*

While Lord Camden was deeply employed *in conſidering what was to be done*, the rebels, by the providence of God and the ſpirit of the yeomanry, having been diſappointed in their plan of ſeizing the city, broke out into general inſurrection. Lord Camden then conſulted his cabinet, and aſked *what was to be done?* His Excellency was humbly adviſed that, as the rebels had *commenced* the war on their part, it would be prudent for his Excellency to *commence* the war on his part; which advice (as his Excellency could not diſcern any alternative) he, with a firmneſs and reſolution becoming his character, determined to purſue: Accordingly his Excellency iſſued orders (but not to the Attorney General) for the commencement of the war.

And

And here, having brought both parties to an iſſue of war, I feel and lament the advantage which Cæſar enjoyed, of being able to combine the talents of a ſoldier and an hiſtorian. I cannot enter into military detail, and if I could, I fear the majority of my readers would not receive much information from my labours. Ordinary men can only judge of cauſes by their effects. They conſider him as the victor who quietly enjoys the power; and they humbly conceive that where oppoſing poſſeſſion and obſtinate conteſt remain, conqueſt and ſubjugation cannot be ſaid to exiſt. By this plain rule, and by applying every man's ordinary information to the meaſurement of the relative forces of both parties, I mean to try the wiſdom of the leaders of each.

My Lord Camden commenced the war with a military force of about eighty thouſand men. This army has been ſince increaſed by Britiſh auxiliaries to about ninety-four thouſand. A train of artillery, arms, ammunition, commiſſaries ſtores, camp equipage, trenching tools, and general officers were provided by eſtimates, even beyond the wants of ſo numerous a body of men, gallant in their perſons, high in their expectations, of untamed ſpirit, and untainted loyalty. Any man who, in this ſpeculating time, walked the ſtreets of Dublin, and ſaw the ragged ſqualor, to which the laborious days and ſleepleſs nights of Lieutenant General Pakenham, had reduced his perſon—who ſaw the quantity

quantity of tobacco he chewed, and heard the volumes of amphibious oaths he uttered, in ſtimulating the body of artificers under his command, muſt admit that every exertion was apparently made to put this tremendous body of ordnance into motion. On the ſide of the enemy, the inſurrection was not, as it had been expected, general; and it was not, as it had been expected, aided by the addition of any foreign force, or of any foreign ſupply of arms or ammunition. The north of Ireland, from whence the greateſt danger, as to numbers of men, proviſions, of arms, and forwardneſs of diſcipline, was to be apprehended, remained, (in one inſtance, and ſoon quelled, excepted) undiſturbed. In the weſt not the accent of riot was heard, and in the ſouth-weſt no motion of importance was undertaken. The field for the employment of the talents of Lord Camden, and of the force thoſe talents directed, was confined to the counties of Kildare, Wicklow, Wexford, and ſome diſtricts of Meath, Carlow and Kilkenny; which laſt were more involved by the contiguity of their ſituation, than by the ſpirit of their inhabitants. In thoſe different diſtricts, different hordes of peaſants, armed with pikes, a few bad firelocks, and ſome old ſhip guns, plundered from the wrecks on the coaſt, aroſe in terrible array.

What followed?

O! for a muſe of fire, that would aſcend
The brighteſt heaven of invention!
A kingdom for a ſtage, princes to act,
And monarchs to behold the ſwelling ſcene!
Then ſhould the warlike Camden, like himſelf,
Aſſume the poſt of Mars.

The city of Dublin, the capital of the kingdom, the grand depôt of military ſtores, and even more —the reſidence of the repreſentative of Majeſty itſelf, was actually in a ſtate of blockade for above a fortnight—all communication between it and the ſouth, ſouth-weſt, and ſouth-eaſt parts of the kingdom was actually cut off—ſome of the faireſt, moſt decorated, and moſt fertile parts of the ſurrounding country were ravaged—the buildings conſumed by fire—the proviſions carried off or deſtroyed, and the wretched loyal inhabitants put to death with circumſtances of cruelty too dreadful to contemplate.

Fortunately the active ſpirit and unceaſing watchfulneſs of the yeomanry kept the capital itſelf in profound peace, and left my Lord Camden *time to conſider what was to be done.*

His Excellency having taken *time to conſider what was to be done*, opened a communication with his troops near the Curragh of Kildare, and by a combination of well *conſidered* manœuvres, cauſed a body of about four thouſand rebels to be ſurrounded. His Excellency upon this firſt ſplendid ſucceſs of his arms, with a magnanimity which it is hoped may hereafter be conſidered as inimitable—let the whole

whole body of rebels *go about their buſineſs*. Fortune ſeemed peculiarly to favour his Excellency at that moment; for though theſe rebels, with the moſt unremitting ferocity, both before and after their captivity, ravaged and deſtroyed whatever came within their power; yet during the whole time they were in poſſeſſion of Lord Camden's troops, * "THEIR SORROW AND REPENTANCE SEEMED COM-"PLETE."

It is true, that the whole effect which probably was expected from this magnanimous conduct of his Excellency did not follow. The rebels obſtinately kept poſſeſſion of the town of Kildare, and by that poſſeſſion ſtill cut off the ſouthern communication; but General Sir James Duff fortunately, on this occaſion, ſaved his Excellency the trouble of taking *time to conſider what was to be done*, and, by a march of unequalled rapidity from Limerick, arrived at Kildare, drove the rebels out of the town, and thus raiſed, for that time, the blockade of Dublin.

During theſe tranſactions other bodies of rebels had ravaged the whole county of Wexford—had deſtroyed ſome of the principal towns—had commenced their maſſacre of the proteſtant inhabitants, by putting them to the pike; but this method being tedious, they had proceeded to incloſe them in barns, and burn them by diviſions.

* Vide his Excellency's Bulletin, giving an account of the miraculous captivity, and the no leſs miraculous emancipation of the rebels near Kildare.

As ſoon as the ſtate of affairs in Wexford had been laid before his Excellency, he immediately proceeded to take time to *conſider what was to be done*, and then determined to ſend troops to its relief.

The hopes of the war were centered on the ſucceſs of the expedition to Wexford; and it was determined ſo to ſurround the rebels by ſuperior ſkill and ſuperior force, as to render all reſiſtance impotent, and all relief impracticable. Frigates were ſtationed to prevent the eſcape of thoſe rebels by ſea, and their own boats were burnt to prevent even the poſſibility of ſuch an attempt.

The blockade being complete behind, the troops were collected, and the columns ordered to advance from different points to a common centre. The choſen column which was to advance through the moſt difficult country, was placed by Lord Camden's ſpecial order under the command of Colonel Walpole. This officer had furniſhed a mind well adapted by nature to the accumulation of ſuch materials, with a prodigious quantity of military information, which he had collected in the Upper Caſtle-yard in the Aid-de-camps' room, and in the various *airings* which he had the honour of taking from two to five o'clock with his Excellency.

Colonel Walpole ſet forward. "Hope elevated, and joy brightened his creſt." The eyes of a harraſſed nation anxiouſly followed. Colonel Walpole in a wild Iriſh mountain, called Sleeve-buoy, was ſurrounded—killed—his column defeated—his artillery

artillery and ſtores taken—by the *ſuperior tactics* of Father DUMPHY.

What followed?

Of the columns of troops which depended mutually on each other for ſupport, ſome were obliged to fall back, and others to remain ſtationary, until his Excellency ſhould *take time to conſider what was to be done.*

Soon after the troops from England arrived at Waterford. With this timely ſuccour to his eighty thouſand men, Lord Camden was enabled (after having *taken time to conſider what was to be done,*) to order the columns again to move forward.

What followed?

The outpoſts of theſe ragged barbarians, unable without artillery to reſiſt artillery, were driven in, and in about one month from the time the rebels had firſt ſeized Wexford, the King's troops found every where marks of the moſt dreadful devaſtation and maſſacre. Into the Barony of Forth, or over the bridge of Wexford, it remains yet to be diſcovered, whether the rebels were diſcovered or defeated. Here ends the campaign of Wexford, and the oſtenſible adminiſtration of Lord Camden.

His Excellency having thus demonſtrated to all mankind, that * "it was in the power of his Majeſty's generals, and of the forces under his command, entirely to deſtroy all thoſe who had riſen againſt their ſovereign and his laws," *whenever they*

 ſhould

* Vide the ſtate paper ſaid to be a Proclamation, but without title, ſigniature, or addreſs.

ſhould think proper to perform the ſame; the public were congratulated by all his Excellency's friends on his good fortune, in having been able to *terminate* the rebellion, without the horrid neceſſity of *ſubduing* the rebels. His Excellency having thus left ſcarcely any thing to be done, but to treat and to conciliate, deſcended to the water edge in a ſplendour of *military* triumph, which Marius, after he had overcome the Cimbri, would have looked at with envy, leaving Lord Cornwallis to enjoy, if he could earn it, the ſecondary honours of an *ovation* —I ſay, an ovation, becauſe the firſt act of ſtate which appeared in my Lord Cornwallis's adminiſtration, was a proud, though a conditional offer of amneſty, coming from an *all conquering* party, who had it "*in his power to deſtroy all thoſe who had riſen, &c.*" To conquer over again, therefore, all thoſe who had been already conquered by his warlike predeceſſor, could hardly be expected from the magnanimity of Lord Cornwallis.

PEACE therefore was to be his ſole purſuit.

Before I proceed to examine this firſt act of ſtate in Lord Cornwallis's government, I cannot avoid obſerving on a ſingular fatality which frequently attends *Iriſh* affairs. The circumſtance to which I allude at preſent is, that Lord Camden, who certainly was not a *military man, in any ſenſe of the word*, had been left here to *fight* and to overcome the rebels; and that Lord Cornwallis, who certainly is a *military man, in every ſenſe of the word*, ſhould then, (and not till then) have been ſent over to negociate

a treaty

a treaty of peace with the beaten party; in the *projet* of which treaty it appears likewiſe ſomething ſingular, that the *ſtatus quo* with the rebels ſhould be adopted as a foundation. I do not mean to reflect on Lord Cornwallis's talents for negociation, or on his experience of its arts. He negociated at York-town—he negociated at Seringapatam.——At the firſt he had been conquered—at the laſt he was a conqueror; and in both, his honour and his talents were unimpeached. At the firſt he negociated with *rebels*; but with *rebels* who were bound by the ordinary ties of chriſtian faith, and of gentlemanly honour. At the laſt he negociated with a *barbarian*;—but with a *barbarian*, elevated by high dignity, proud from immenſe wealth, and habitual ſovereignty; yet with all this, *almoſt* the circle of experience, there was one point of diplomatic art left unexplored by Lord Cornwallis, and which the fortune, if not the talent, of Lord Camden diſcovered. He brought Lord Cornwallis to negociate with a *barbarian* enemy, deſtitute of pride, dignity, and property; and with a rebel enemy, as deſtitute of chriſtian faith as of gentlemanly honour;—in whom there exiſted but one claſs of qualities, of which Lord Cornwallis, from his experience, could avail himſelf. It muſt be admitted, he had to negociate with a *barbarian enemy*, as inſatiate of blood, and as deep in treachery as either Tippoo Saib or Hyder Ali.

The State paper to which I have alluded, and which is the only material act of government left without

without having been conſidered, appeared in the Dublin Gazette on Tueſday 3d of July, but had been printed by the King's printer, and circulated through the news-papers for ſeveral days before. Without ſignature, or counter-ſignature, it was to be regarded as authentic; without addreſs, it was to be diſcovered by thoſe *whom it might concern*; and without title, it was to be reverenced as a proclamation*.

The firſt ſentence contains an aſſertion, that, "it "is in the power of his Majeſty's generals, and of "the forces under their command, *entirely to deſtroy* "all thoſe who have riſen in rebellion," &c. Now, this aſſertion is either *true*, or it is *falſe*.

If it be true, how has it happened that, *ſubſequent* to the time of ſuch an aſſertion having been thus publicly made—how has it happened, I repeat, that the capital of the kingdom has been again reduced to a ſtate of blockade, its ſupplies, and its communications, in ſome inſtances, entirely cut off, and in others ſuſpended—that the town of Naas has not been relieved from blockade, nor its garriſon protected from inſult—that Kill has been plundered—that the remainder of unfortunate Bleſſington has again ſubmitted to fire, and has totally been reduced to aſhes;—that Donard, Hacketſtown, and Carnew, have all been attacked, and all

* Sir B. R. declares he had no hand in the compoſition of this paper; but he obſerves, that a CONSIDERABLE part of it is not liable to the leaſt cavil, as he cannot ſee what exception can be taken to that part which is FILLED up by blanks.

all nearly deſtroyed;—that from the whole face of the fertile country, where theſe unfortunate towns DID exiſt, the proviſions have been ſwept off, and nothing left for our troops to protect but the lime and ſtones, part of the towns which, fortunately, was not phyſically ſubject to the action of fire? How has it happened that, while I have been writing, and within the very view of your City outpoſts, the houſes of peaceable men have been attacked, their perſons put to the torture, and their property carried off?—How has it happened, that at this moment large bands of undeſtroyed aſſaſſins, menace your proud city from its adjoining hills—that detachments, to the number of ſome thouſands, have croſſed from the ſouthern hills through the county of Kildare, into the county of Meath, and have ſeized on ſtrong poſts there, and in the northern part of the county of Dublin; from which no account has yet arrived of their being diſlodged?

Can ſuch a ſeries of tranſactions have paſſed, and can ſuch an aſſertion, as that contained in the ſtate paper, be true? I leave it to Parliament, on Tueſday next to enquire.

The next remarkable feature in the production alluded to, is the promiſe of *protection* which it pledges to the aſſaſſins in rebellion aſſembled. It promiſes, (upon certain conditions) that "they will receive a certificate which will entitle them to PROTECTION."

Whether

Whether the certificate in the ſtate paper mentioned, would or would not be a *protection* from the pains and forfeitures conſequent on rebellion, appearing to me to be a queſtion of *law*, I did not venture to determine it myſelf, but reſorted for advice to a friend of mine, who is a corporal in the Attornies corps. The corporal aſſured me that, in his opinion, " the aforeſaid inſtrument, called a certificate, was no manner of *protection* whatſoever; and, that if any rebel ſhould produce a certificate ſigned by all the general officers on the ſtaff," (of whom the corporal ſhewed me a liſt, which, at firſt, I miſtook for the muſter-roll of his company) " ſuch rebel would, notwithſtanding ſuch certificate, be liable to be tried for, and convicted of High Treaſon, and if convicted, would be further liable, (notwithſtanding ſuch certificate) to be carried back to the place from whence he came, and from thence to be drawn to the place of execution, and be there hanged by the neck, cut down alive, his entrails burnt before his face, his head cut off, and his body divided into four quarters, to be diſpoſed of at the King's pleaſure." The corporal, who (having now nothing to do as an Attorney) is an honeſt and humane man, added, that he thought " it was a very cruel *deceit* to put on ignorant men, however criminal, to endeavour to entrap them, under pretence of protection, into a ſurrender, which would expoſe them to ſo horrid a puniſhment.

Whether the corporal, as a lawyer, was right in his

his judgment, and as an honeſt man was right in his feeling, I leave it to the wiſdom of Parliament (where, no doubt, the meaſure of this ſtate paper will be canvaſſed) to determine.

The laſt part of this wonderful paper exhibits the form of the oath required to be taken by thoſe unfortunate wretches, to whom it holds out a vain and inefficacious protection. This form firſt contains the oath of allegiance, and then calls upon the wretched and deceived culprit, to "renounce and *abjure* all *oaths* and engagements of every kind whatſoever, which are in any degree *contrary* thereto." Did the unbluſhing compiler of this violation of all principle and decency, know what the *abjuration* of an *oath* is? Did he know, that it is to ſwear to commit perjury?—to ſwear to be forſworn?—Does he conceive that an inſtrument which renounces and derides the ſtrength of all moral obligation, derived from the ſanctity of an oath—which obliges the polluted ſoul to ſwear, that his atteſtation before his God ſhall not be as any bond whatſoever?—Does he conceive, I ſay, that ſuch a corrupted lump of mutually-repelling materials, can ever be the cement of future peace, good-will, and mutual confidence among men?—Circling the globe, from the *reaſoning* diſciples of Confucius, and thence weſtward to the *feeling* Peruvian children of the ſun, on what altar did he find ſuch an offering, except on that of the Goddeſs of Reaſon in the Champ de Mars:—

They ſay the ſtate is full of couzenage—
As nimble jugglers that deceive the eye,
Diſguiſed cheaters, *prating* mountebanks,
And many ſuch like libertines of ſin. SHAKSPEARE.

One circumſtance I had forgotten: I am told that the deluder has been deluded. I am told that the wary rebel has taken advantage of this protection—that he has come in, even to the city of Dublin—taken this oath—received his protection, and then departed with a freſh ſupply of arms, ammunition, and intelligence to the rebel camp. As a proof of this, it is publicly aſſerted, that many of the rebels have been killed, and taken in the act of fighting the King's troops, with theſe certificates of protection in their pockets.

The public muſt not, cannot conceive this ſtate paper to be the production of Lord Cornwallis, or that he had any connexion with it, except that it was publiſhed immediately after his arrival, as a ſort of continuation of the former ſyſtem. Lord Cornwallis had not time to become acquainted with any of the matters which the paper ſtates as exiſting facts. He muſt have truſted as to facts to thoſe whom he thought had ſome degree of political information; and as to forms, he would probably rely on thoſe officers of forms, who were introduced to him as poſſeſſing ſome degree of civil experience, and ſome ſhare of moral decency. The paper, therefore, I conſider as the act of the former government.

I have

I have now travelled through the ſeveral experiments which have been made by the late adminiſtration on this unhappy country:

Firſt, to govern it by LAWS;

Next, to coerce it by ARMS;

And laſtly, to conciliate it by PARDON.

It will be for the wiſdom of Parliament to decide, whether there has been a ſufficiency of legal acuteneſs diſplayed in the firſt—of military energy in the ſecond—and of ſober, well-timed mercy in the laſt? Or whether, on the contrary, the ſkill of the lawyers has not been baffled, and the gallant ſpirit of the army benumbed, by the torpid influence of an inert government, in the firſt and ſecond inſtances? And in the laſt, whether that government, inſtead of the flow and dignified march of mercy and power combined, has not exhibited an anxious and premature deſire to get rid of the hazards of preſent war, at the expence of truth, morals, and decency?

It will be aſked, why theſe queſtions are now put? Has not Parliament already decided? The anſwer is, that Parliament has paid ſome perſonal compliments to a departing Viceroy; but that even if Parliament had already decided, it is competent to review its own deciſions.

Theſe queſtions have been therefore put, and this ſtatement has been therefore made; and with an humble hope that what is talked of in a deſultory manner without doors, may, by being collected together, gain the attention of honeſt, wiſe, and in-

dependent men within doors; that Parliament may, if any propoſitions ſhould be made to it by any part of an adminiſtration, whoſe conduct has been ſo queſtioned, weigh thoſe propoſitions well, and decide with ſpirit, dignity, and vigour;—that Parliament may not ſuffer itſelf to be whined and canted out of its energy;—that Parliament may recollect that, though ſome men thought a ſyſtem of *coercion* more likely to ſucceed than a ſyſtem of *conceſſion*;—and ſome again gave a preference to the latter; yet, that there was one mode of proceeding which by all honeſt men of every party was equally condemned; and that was a ſyſtem which, by *weakly* attempting a mixture of both, became neither *coercion* nor *conceſſion*. A ſyſtem from which the inevitable reſult was—that the guilty met as ſmall a ſhare of puniſhment as the innocent found of protection.

16*th July*, 1798.

FINIS.